Nanak Panthis

or The Sikh and Sikhism of the 17th Century

(Translated from Muhsin Fani's *Dubistan-i-Mazahib)*

Edited with Notes by
Ganda Singh
Khalsa College, Amritsar

Reprinted from the *Journal of Indian History*
Volume XIX, Part 2

1940

Printed at
The G. S. Press
Madras

PDF created by Rajesh Arya - Gujarat

INTRODUCTION

THE *Dabistân-i-Mazâhib,* from which I have culled and translated the account of the *Nanak-panthis,* the followers of Guru Nanak, is generally acknowledged to be the work of Shaikh Mohsin Fani.

According to the *Gul-i-Ra'na*[1] and the *Miftah-ut-Twarikh*[2] he was a resident of Kashmir, but a closer examination of the *Dabistan* reveals that he was born somewhere on the shores of Persia, and that he was compelled by inconstant fortune and force of circumstances to spend most of his life in "the land of the believers in transmigration." Unlike most of the Muhammadan writers, Mohsin Fani has not anywhere in the text alluded to his parentage and the date of his birth.

Out of over fifty dates that are connected with the various events of his life, referred to here and there is his work, the earliest is 1028 Hijri,[3] corresponding to 1618 A.D. when his guardian Mobid Hushiar took him for blessing to Balak Nath, a leading member of the order of the Jogis in the seventeenth century. The next earliest date is 1033 Hijri (1623 A.D.)[4] when he was still in his infancy and was carried, as he himself tells us, in the arms of Mobid Hushiar to a leading Gosain, Chatur Vapah (? Chaturpal), who then blessed him, taught him the *Surya Mantra,* or prayer to god Sun, and deputed one of his followers to remain with him 'till the age of manhood.' Taking into consideration the two dates, we may infer that Mohsin Fani could not have been more than eight years of age, the latest year when a boy may be carried in the arms of his guardian, even if he were ill. This would place the date of his birth about the year 1615 A.D.

1. By Lachhmi Narayan; also Shea and Troyer, Vol. I, p. vii.
2. By Munshi Danishwar.
3. Lucknow Edition, p. 182-83; Shea and Troyer, Vol. II, p. 137.
4. Lucknow Edition; Shea and Troyer, II, 145.

From his childhood, Mohsin was, by nature, a religious-minded youth. He was brought up in the Sufi atmosphere under the care of Mobid Hushiar and Mulla Yaqub Kashmiri[5] and this had liberalised his religious outlook. According to Beal's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary,* "He held the appointment of Sadarat of the province of Allahabad for several years in the time of Emperor Shah Jahan; and when that monarch conquered Balkh in A.D. 1646, A.H. 1056, amongst the spoil that fell into the hands of the emperor belonging to Nazar Muhammad Khan, the ruler of that province, was a *Diwan* composed by Mohsin Fani which he had sent as a present to that ruler with verses in his praise; this annoyed the emperor, and Mohsin was forthwith dismissed from his office. He received, however, a small pension and passed the remainder of his life at Kashmere, where he died in A.D. 1670, A.H. 1081."

He devoted most of his life to the comparative study of religions. As a true seeker after truth, he travelled throughout the length and breadth of India and went as far as Meshed in Persia to obtain first hand information about the various religions of his time. No time and labour were spared by him to study these religions from the practical lives of their followers and from the original sources in their scriptures and other authoritative works. Every statement that he has made in his work is based either upon his own personal observations or upon the information supplied by the best informed men with whom he could get in touch. He says himself at the conclusion of his work: "After having much frequented the meetings of the followers of the five beforesaid religions," Magians, Hindus, Jews, Nazareans, and Muselmans, "the author wished and undertook to write this book; and whatever in this work, treating of the religions of different countries, is stated concerning the creed of different sects, has been taken from their books, and for the account of the persons belonging to any particular sect, the author's information was imparted to him by their adherents and sincere friends, and recorded literally, so that no trace of partiality nor aversion might be perceived: in short, the writer of these pages performed no more than the task of a translator." This declaration of Mohsin Fani is self-explanatory.

Mohsin's account of Sikhism and its Gurus and followers in the middle of the seventeenth century is the first from the pen of a non-Sikh contemporary writer, and it throws a flood of light on the earlier Sikhism. It is not to be claimed, of course, that this account is free from errors. There are a few things here and there which

5. *Gul-i-Ra'na,* quoted to Shea and Troyer.

have no other historical evidence to support them, or which may be revised in the light of more authentic evidence. These I have pointed out in the foot-notes. But of one thing we are sure. Mohsin Fani has nowhere in his work adopted a hostile attitude towards any particular people. His defects, therefore, may be attributed to his imperfect knowledge of the language of the people of which he wrote, or to the incorrect knowledge of those who were his sources of information. It may be safely said that Mohsin has given an impartial account of what he saw and heard of the Sikhs and their Gurus during his contact with them. As he tells us in the text, he was personally known to Gurus Hargobind and Har Rai, and, evidently, it was this close contact with the great masters that inspired him with esteem and affection for their personalities and admiration for their teachings.

This great work of Mohsin Fani, the *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, was at first translated into English by David Shea and Anthony Troyer, and was published by the Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland in 1843. But it was marred by innumerable mistakes for want of sufficient knowledge of the Persian language. The chapter on the Nanak-panthis, dealing with the Sikhs and Sikhism, was particularly hopeless. It was, therefore, that I translated it in January 1930 for the *Khalsa,* Lahore, then edited by Bhagat Lakshman Singh, but with the commencement of my *Life of Bhai Gurdas* in the columns of that paper, its publication was deferred. In the meantime another translation of this section from the pen of Sardar Umrao Singh Majithia was published in the *Khalsa Review,* Lahore, for June 1930. As this came very dangerously near my own, I have been indifferent to the publication of my translation. I have, however, been feeling all this time that there were many points in it that needed elucidation and explanation, and also some opinions and views that ought to be corrected in the light of more authentic evidence. I have, therefore, yielded to the wishes of my friend Rao Sahib Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Head of the departments of History and Politics in the Annamalai University, in publishing this translation.

I have been strictly literal in my rendering, with the result that not unoften the diction and idiom of the English language had to be sacrificed to keep it as near the original as possible. For this I crave the readers' indulgence. I have given my explanations of the doubtful points in footnotes, and, although some of them have grown disproportionately lengthy, I hope the discussions therein will not be found wholly uninteresting.

GANDA SINGH

PDF created by Rajesh Arya - Gujarat

NĀNAK—PANTHIS,[1] who are known as *Guru-Sikhs*[2] or diciples of the Gurus [Nanak and his successors], have no belief in idols and idol-temples. Nanak is from the Bedis; and Bedis are a sub-caste of the Khatris.[3] In the reign of His Majesty, the late Emperor Zahir-ud-din Babar—may God illumine his argument—he (Nanak) became famous. Before the victory of the late Emperor (Babar), he (Nanak) was a *Modi*[4] to Daulat Khan Lodhi, who was one of the high officials of Ibrahim Khan Emperor of Delhi. And, Modi is an official in charge of the granary.

Once a saint came to him and captivated his heart so much so that Nanak, going to his shop, gave away (in charity to the poor) all his own and Daulat Khan's grain that he had in the shop and stores. He severed his connection with his wife and children. Daulat Khan was astonished to hear this. As he saw signs of saintliness in Nanak, he refrained from molesting him. In short Nanak underwent severe austerities. At first he reduced his food, and, after some time, he depended upon drinking a little of cow's milk. After that he lived on *ghee* and then on water. Lastly he lived on air like those who, in Hindostan, are called *Pavan-āhāris* or consumers of air alone.[5]

Some people became his disciples. Nanak believed in (was convinced of) the unity of God as it is laid down in the tenets of Muhammad. He also believed in the doctrine of transmigration.

1. *Panth* is a Sanskrit word meaning path. *Nanak-Panthi,* therefore, literally means a person following the path of Nanak, that is, a disciple of Nanak.
2. *Sikh* is a Punjabi word for the Sanskrit *Shishya,* meaning a disciple.
3. The second of the four castes of the Hindus.
4. A Commisseriat or a supply officer.
5. There is nothing in the biographies of the Guru to substantiate this statement. It appears to have been based on the authority of some one who wished to represent the Guru as one of the old Hindu recluses who are generally respected for their austerities.

Holding wine and pork unlawful, he abstained from animal food[6] and enjoined against cruelty to animals. After his death meat-eating became common among his disciples. And when Arjan Mal, who is one of the prophetic order of Nanak, found that evil, he prohibited people from meat-eating and said: "This practice is not in accordance with the wishes of Nanak."[7] Eventually Hargobind, son of Arjan Mal, ate meat and hunted, and most of his disciples followed his practice.

Just as Nanak praised the Muhammadans, he also praised the incarnations and the gods and goddesses of the Hindus. But he knew them all to be the creation and not the creator. He denied [the doctrines of] *Halool* (direct descent from or incarnation of God), and *Ittihad* (direct union of the All-pervading God with any parti-

6. Here Mohsin-Fani or his informant seems to have erred. There is nothing in the teachings of Guru Nanak to condemn the use of animal food. On the other hand we find him cooking a deer, which a disciple had presented to him at Kurukshetar during his visit to that place. When the Brahmans expressed their horror at his cooking of flesh on the occasion of a Solar Eclipse, he replied:—

> Man is first conceived in flesh, he dwelleth in flesh.
> When he quickeneth, he obtaineth a mouth of flesh; his bone, skin, and body are made of flesh.
> When he is taken out of the womb he seizeth teats of flesh.
> His mouth is of flesh, his tongue is of flesh, his breath is in flesh.
> When he groweth up he marries, and bringeth flesh home with him.
> Flesh is produced from flesh; all man's relations are made from flesh.
>
> (*Guru Granth Sahib, Var Malhar ki,* M.I., p. 1289; Macauliffe, i. 47-48).

The following is also on the same subject:—

> Fools wrangle about flesh, but know not divine knowledge, or meditation on God.
> They know not what is flesh, or what is vegetable, or in what sin consisteth.
> They who forswear flesh and hold their noses when near it, devour men at night ...
> In flesh we are conceived, from flesh we are born, we are vessels of flesh. ...
>
> (*Guru Granth Sahib, Var Malhar ki,* M.I., p. 1289; Macauliffe, i. 48).

7. There is no such sentence traceable in the sayings of Guru Arjan in the *Guru Granth Sahib.*

cular body). They say that he had the rosary of the Muhammadans in his hand and the sacred Brahmanical thread round his neck.[8]

His disciples narrate so many of his miracles which cannot find room in this brief sketch. One of these is that Nanak, having been displeased with the Afghans, deputed the Mughals over them. So in the year 932 [*al-Hijri*, 1526 A.D.] His Majesty the late Emperor

8. "He seems to be confusing the black woollen string called *Sehli* which a class of saints wear in India and which is found in the feathers round Guru Nanak's neck." [S. Umrao Singh Majithia in the *Khasla Review*, June 1930, p. 5.] As for the Brahmanical thread, Guru Nanak had flatly refused to put it on when the family priest Hardial proceeded to perform the ceremony. No remonstrances and persuasion of the priest were of any avail with the young Guru who gave utterance to the following hymns:—

1. Make mercy thy cotton, contentment thy thread, continence its knot, truth its twist.
That would make a *janeu* for the soul; if thou have it, O Brahman, then put it on me.
It will not break, or become soiled or be burned or lost.
Blest the man, O Nanak, who goeth with such thread on his neck.
Thou purchaseth a *janeu* for four *damris*, and seated in a square putteth it on;
Thou whisperest instruction that the Brahman is the guru of the Hindus—
Man dieth, *the janeu* falleth; and the soul departeth without it.
(*Guru Granth Sahib, Asa-di-Var*, p. 471.)

2. Though men commit countless thefts, countless adulteries, utter countless falsehoods and countless words of abuse;
Though they commit countless robberies and villainies night and day against their fellow creatures;
Yet the cotton thread is spun, and the Brahman cometh to twist it.
For the ceremony they kill a goat and cook and eat it, and everybody then saith, 'Put on the *janeu*.'
When it becometh old, it is thrown away, and another is put on.
Nanak, the string breaketh not if it be strong.
(*Asa-di-Var*, p. 471.)

3. By adoring and praising the Name, honour and a true thread are obtained.
In this way a sacred thread shall be put on, which will not break, and which will be fit for entrance into God's court.
There is no string for the sexual organs, there is no string for women;
There is no string for the impure acts which cause your beards to be daily spat upon;
There is no string for the feet, there is no string for the hands;
There is no string for the tongue, there is no string for the eyes.

Zahir-ud-din Muhammad Babar gained victory over the Afghan [Emperor] Ibrahim.

They also say that during one of his travels Baba Nanak spent a night in a fort and was absorbed in the vision of God. However much the children, who were playing there, touched his body with their hands, no motion appeared from him. They stitched up his eye-lids, nose and ears, and tied his hands tightly. When Nanak returned to himself from that state [of mental alienation, ecstacy] and found himself in that condition, he went to one of the houses. When he arrived at the threshold, he cried out: "Is there any one in the house who can open my stitched up eye-lids with hands?" A handsome woman, having conducted him into the house and, untying his hands, unstitched what was sewed up and cut the threads from the eyes of Baba Nanak with her teeth. Consequently the paint of her *Tilak* was impressed on the fore-head of Nanak and the *tilak* of that woman became smothered. When Nanak came out of her house, the neighbours saw him in that condition [with the *tilak* mark on his forehead] and thought that he had copulated with that woman. Consequently the woman became infamous in the community. And, a dislike appeared towards her in the mind of her husband.

The woman one day came to Nanak and said: "I rendered you service in the name of God, and now they blame me." Nanak said: "To-morrow the gate of the fort shall get shute and it shall not open till your hand reaches (touches) it." The next day, however they did try to open the gate of the fort, it did not open. The people remained in that state of helplessness. The place was high and away from water. The quadrupeds also could not get out. The inhabitants of the fort approached all those persons whom they considered to be holy. The closed gate did not open by the prayers of that community until [the people of] that community came to Nanak and said: "Oh saint! what is the remedy for this thing?" He replied: "This door shall not open except by the hand of a woman who has not done what is unlawful with a stranger [that is, who has

Without such strings the Brahman wanderth astray.
Twisteth strings for the neck, and putteth them on others.
He taketh hire for marrying;
He pulleth out a paper, and showeth the fate of the wedded pair.
Hear and see, ye people, it is strange
That, while mentally blind, man is named wise.

(*Asa-di-Var*, p. 491.)

not co-habited with a person other than her husband]." The people of the fort took the women, whom they considered to be virtuous and chaste, to the gate of the fort. But it was of no avail. At last every woman who was inside the fort rubbed her hand against the gate, but no good came out of it. Consequently they sat down in despair.

At the time of the evening prayer, the friend of Baba Nanak came. The people laughed on seeing her. Her husband and near relatives, being ashamed, rebuked her. The woman lent no ear to what the community said. Striking her hand into the gate-ring, she pulled it. And lo! the closed gate was opened. The people having been astonished fell at the woman's feet.[9]

The *Bani* of Nanak, that is his hymns, comprise prayers, admonitions and counsels, and most of the sayings are on the greatness of God Most Holy. And all that is in the language of the Jats. A Jat, in the vocabulary of the Punjab, is a villager and a peasant. His (Nanak's) disciples have no regard for the Sanskrit language. The rules and regulations which Nanak laid down will be described hereafter.

Nanak has said in his hymns:

"Heavens and earths are numerous. Prophets, saints, incarnations (*Avtārs*) and *Sidhs* have attained perfection through devotion to God. And every one who strives in the worship of God, by whatever path he wishes, becomes favourite of God. The means of (attaining) proximity of God is non-injury to (any) living being.

Be righteous that you become freed (saved). Righteousness from you (shall bring to you) success from God."[10]

The sons of Nanak are in the Punjab. They are called *Kartāri* [that is, the worshippers of *Kartār,* the Creator]. But, according to the opinion of some, the spiritual office did not inherit to his sons. They say that by his order Guru Angad from the caste of the *Trehan*[11] Khattris sat in place (succeeded to the spiritual office) of

9. The story is not traceable in any of the biographies of the Guru.
10. *Guru Granth Sahib.*
11. The word ترہن—*Trehan*—is wrongly transcribed as سرین —*Srīn*—in the lithographed copies. Guru Angad was born in the *Trehan* sub-caste of the Khattris and not in the *Srīn* sub-caste.

Nanak. After him Guru Amardas, from the *Bhalla* Khattri caste, became his successor, and after him sat Guru Ramdas who is from the *Sodhi* Khattris and whom they call *Sri Guru,* the Great Master, also.

After the death of Ramdas his son Arjan Mal sat in the place of his father. In his time the Sikhs or disciples became numerous and made exaggerations in the beliefs. They said: "Baba Nanak is God and the world is of his creating." But in (his) hymns Baba Nanak reckoned himself a Slave [of God], and called God *Niranjan,* the Formless, *Parbrahm,* the Supreme Spirit, and *Parmeshar,* the Supreme Lord, who is not body and bodied and is not united with [material] body. The Sikhs says Baba Nanak was such and had no body, but he appeared to us through his power. And they go so far that when Nanak left his body, he absorbed [himself] in Guru Angad who was his nearest servant (most devoted disciple), and that Guru Angad is Nanak himself. After that, at the time of his death, Guru Angad entered into the body of Amardas in the above mentioned manner. He in the same manner occupied a place in the body of Ramdas, and Ramdas in the same way got united with Arjan Mal. They give everyone the name of a *Mahal;* first *Mahal* being Nanak, second *Mahal* Angad and so on till the fifth *Mahal* who is Arjanmal. They said that whoever does not acknowledge [or believe in] Guru Arjan Mal to be the very self of Baba Nanak becomes *Manmukh*[12] or a non-believer.

They have [numerous] stories. They say that in ancient time Baba Nanak was Raja Janak.[13]... In the opinion of the disciples of Nanak, Guru Nanak, in a life from previous creations, having been Raja Janak, had accomplished spiritual works along with his temporal kingdom and called mankind to God.

The chronicler [the author himself] has heard from reliable Sikhs that when Baba Nanak appeared in the *Sat Jug,*[14] a crowd of disciples came round him. He sent a cow into the kitchen. When

12. By an error in reading the Persian *Shikastah* hand, the word من مکھ *man-mukh* is wrongly transcribed as *marnakh* or *marankh*. *Manmukh* in Punjabi means a non-believer.

13. After this follows a long irrelevent account of Raja Janak, the father of Sita, the dutiful wife of King Rama of Ayodhia, from the *Jog Basisht*. It has no bearing on the subject. I have, therefore, thought it best to omit it.

14. Hindu astronomers have divided time into *Kalpas, Mahayugas* and *Yugas*. A *Kalpa* is the greatest Indian division of time. It consists of 1000 *Mahayugas*. A *Mahayuga* is composed of four *yugas* of different lengths,

cooked, they brought it to the *Sangat,* that is, the congregation of the Sikhs. Some ate of it and the others ran away. The Guru prayed and the cow came to life. On seeing that condition [of the cow come to life], the crowd that had run away, returned and submitted: "Now we shall eat whatever is ordered [in the kitchen]". The Guru, that is, Nanak, said, "Now it cannot be, and our promise to you is for the Treta Jug." So in the cycle of the Treta the Guru appeared. The disciples assembled, as I have said, killed a horse and brought it into the assembly. Some ate of it and a crowd disliked it. So he (Nanak) prayed and the horse became alive. The deserters made the same previous request. This time he said, "Now our promise to you is for the Duapar Jug." And in the cycle of Daupar they brought an elephant into the kitchen. At that time also it happened as I have said. The promise was made for the Kal-Jug. They say that in the Kal-Jug they brought a man into the kitchen. Whoever ate of it was liberated and he who refrained [from eating it], remained in suffering.[15]

I have also heard from a Sikh, who called Nanak a near Slave of God, that when Nanak severed his bodily connection, his soul reached a fork, where one road ran in the direction of heaven and the other in that of hell. Nanak chose the road to hell, and he brought the inhabitants of hell out of the infernal region. And the Most High addressed him: "Those sinners cannot enter heaven. So you should go to the world and liberate this multitude." Nanak consequently came to the world. And now those inhabitants of hell are the multitude of his disciples. And the Guru comes to this world and returns back till all of that sect obtain salvation. Other than this man, no one is seen from among the Sikhs who holds Baba Nanak to be God.

In short, the disciples of Nanak condemn idol-worship. Their belief is that all their Gurus are Nanak, as has been said. They do

the *Krit* or *Sat,* the *Dwapar,* the *Treta* and the *Kali.* The *Kali-yuga,* or the *Kaljug,* as it is called in Northern India, consists of 432,000 solar years. The Dwapar-yuga is double the length of the Kali, the Treta-yuga is triple and the Sat-yuga is quadruple. According to the *Surya Siddhanta,* the present Kali-yuga commenced at midnight on Thursday, the 17-18th February, 3102 B.C., while others have calculated it to have commenced on the following sunrise, 18th February. [Sewell and Dikshit, *The Indian Calandar,* p. 6.]

15. I have not seen this recorded anywhere in the Sikh historical and religious works, nor have I heard of it from any one as an oral tradition. This is, apparently, an adoption of some old story related by some one with the object of representing the Guru to be in no way inferior to any of the mythological Hindu deities.

not read the *Mantras*[16] of the Hindus. They do not venerate their temples of idols, nor do they esteem their *Avtars*.[17] They have no regard for the Sanskrit language which, according to the Hindus, is the speech of the angels.[18]

In short, during the time of each *Mahal* (Guru), the Sikhs increased till in the reign of Guru Arjan Mal they became numerous, and there were not many cities in the inhabited countries where some Sikhs were not to be found. There is no restriction among them that a Brahman may not become the disciple of a Khattri,[19] for Nanak was a Khattri, and no Guru amongst them is from the Brahmans, as has been described. Similarly they placed Khattris under the authority of the Jats, who belong to the low caste of the Vaishyas,[20] as the big *Masands*[21] of the Guru are mostly Jats. The Brahmans and Khattris are (become) *Meli*[22] and *Sahlang*,[23] that is, pupils and disciples of the Guru, through the medium of a *Masand*, and are accepted into the pupilage and discipline of the Guru.

It should be known that in the reign of the Afghan kings, the nobles were addressed in writing at *Masnad-i-Ālī* or the High Seat. Subsequently by frequent use the Indians have reduced it to

16. The Vedic and Puranic hymns.

17. Incarnations of God, such as Rama and Krishna.

18. Gods like Brahma and Vishnu. Compare Swami Dayananda's *Satyarth Prakash*, Urdu, 4th edition, p. 565.

19. According to old Hinduism, the duty of teaching is assigned exclusively to the Brahmans. There is a restriction, therefore, for a Kshatriya to become the teacher of a Brahman. But, as caste distinction is not allowed by Sikhism, no such restriction exists among the Sikhs.

20. The second lowest class of the Hindus.

21. Agents or deputies. The word *Masand*, a corrupted form of Persian *masnad* and synonym of Punjabi *manji* or cot, was used for the Sikh missionaries. When preaching, these missionaries were usually seated on *masnads* (high seats), or cots, out of reverence for their religious learning and devotion, while the audience squatted on the ground, covered with carpets or otherwise. The word *masnad*, corrupted as *masand*, came to be used for them as mentioned in the text.

22. *Meli* in Punjabi means a companion, a brother-in-faith, or a member of a congregation.

23. This word شہلنگ is not legible in the lithographed text. S. Umrao Singh in his translation in the *Khalsa Review* has transliterated it as سہاگ *Sahāyak*. If the dots on س were after سہا, they could have passed for ع and the word could have been read as *Sahāyak*. But this is not so. The dots are on the top of س and can only be taken for those

Masand. And as the Sikhs consider the Gurus *Sacha Padshah,* that is, the Veritable King, they call their agents *Masand.* They call them *Rām-dās* (or the servants of God) also.

In the time of the *Mahals* before the fifth Mahal, no *Bhet*[24] (offering) or tribute was collected from the Sikhs. Whatever was presented by the Sikhs themselves was accepted [and deemed enough]. During his time, Arjan Mal deputed one person to the Sikhs of every city so that he might collect tribute and offerings from them. [This deputy or agent was called *Masand*].

People began to become Sikhs of the Guru through the medium of Masands. The chief Masands, through whom large numbers became Sikhs of the Guru, appointed deputies on their own behalf, so that in every place and *Mahal,*[25] people, having (at first) become *Meli* (associates or pupils) of the Masand through the Masand's agent, become the Sikhs of the Guru.

They have so decided that an *Udasi,* that is a renouncer of the world, is not praise-worthy. Therefore, some Sikhs of the Guru do agricultural work and some trade, and a multitude takes up service. Every year, according to the extent of the money earned by them, they send (their dues) to the Masands in the form of offerings. The Masands do not touch it (that is, they do not appropriate it to their own use). Other than this, whatever they bring, during the year, for the Masand (himself) for conveying their *Bhet* to the Court of the Guru, is spent for himself, if the Masand has no other means of livelihood. But if he himself is engaged in some business or profession, he never soils himself by [misappropriating to himself] the offerings (of the Sikhs). Collecting all (the offerings), he conveys them to the Guru.

In the month of Baisakh (April), when the sun is in the sign of Taurus, the Masands assemble at the Court of the Guru. Whoever,

of a ب. The word, in the text, therefore, is nearer to *Satsang* سنسنگ. Moreover, there are three dots, two of which may be taken for those of ب and the third for that of ں.

There is, however, a word *Sahlang* سہلنگ सहलंग which occurs in the hymns of the third and fourth Gurus Amardas and Ramdas in the *Gaurī* and *Sūhī Rāgs* in the *Guru Granth Sahib.* It means 'connected with' or 'combination of.' [*Sri Guru Granth Kosh,* Khalsa Tract Society, Amritsar, 2nd ed., p. 164.] But it does not appear to have been in common use, and the word *Sahayak* is seldom met with in the Sikh literature, whereas *Satsang* is one of the commonest words and is very closely related to *meli.*

24. The word *bhet* means voluntary 'offering to a holy man or deity,' and not tax or tribute.

25. Here the word *Mahal* means a *parganah,* a territorial division.

from among their Melis (Members of the Masands' congregations) wishes, and able to undertake the journey, comes to Guru with the Masands. At the time of taking leave (from the Guru's presence), the Guru bestows a turban on each of the Masands.

Now, when a few of the beliefs of the Sikhs have been written with the pen of research, I write about some of the prominent people of this sect whom I have seen.

Sixth *Mahal* is Sri Guru Hargobind, son of Guru Arjan Mal. When His Majesty the late Nur-ud-din Muhammad Jehangir, after the arrest of Khusro, arrested and fined Guru Arjan Mal for the reason that he had prayed for the welfare of Prince Khusro, the late Emperor (Jehangir)'s son, who had rebelled against his father, they demanded an enormous sum from him (Guru Arjan). The Guru was unable to pay. Having imprisoned him, (therefore,) they kept him in the sandy desert of Lahore. From the heat of the sun, the severity of the summer, and the tortures of the bailiffs, he gave his life.[26] This incident took place in one thousand and fifteen (1015

26. The martyrdom of Guru Arjan is generally misunderstood, and even men like Mohsin Fani have followed the popular account which is apparently given currency to by those who were mostly responsible for it . But that, in fact, he suffered for his religion at the hands of Jahangir may be seen from the following passage in the Emperor's own Memoirs, the *Tuzk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 35, Nawal Kishore Lucknow Edition:

"In Goindwal, which is situated on the bank of the river Biyah (Beas), there was a Hindu named Arjun, in the garb of a *Pir* and *Shaikh*, so much so that having captivated many simple-hearted Hindus, nay even foolish and stupid Muslims, by his ways and manners, he had noised himself about as a religious and worldly leader. They called him *Guru*, and from all directions fools and fool-worshippers were attracted towards him and expressed full faith in him. For three or four generations they had kept this shop warm. For years the thought had been presenting itself to me that either I should put an end to this false traffic or he should be brought into the fold of Islam.

"At last when Khusro passed along this road, this insignificant low fellow made up his mind to wait upon him. Khusro happened to halt at the place where he was. He (Arjun) came and saw him, and conveyed some preconceived things to him and made on his forehead a finger-mark in saffron, which the Hindus in their terminology call *qashqa* (*Tika*) and is considered propitious. When this came to the ears of our Majesty, and I fully knew his heresies, I ordered that he should be brought into my presence, and having handed over his houses, dwelling places and children to Murtaza Khan and having confiscated his property, I ordered that he should be put to death with tortures.

"There were two other persons, Raju and Amba by name. They led a life of tyranny and oppression under the shadow of Daulat Khan

al-Hijri, 1606 A.D.)[27] Similarly he externed Shaikh Nizam of Thanesar from India for his complicity with and prayer for the welfare of Khusro.

> *Khwaja-sera's* protection. During these days when Khusro was near Lahore, they committed depredations. I ordered that Raju be hanged and that a fine be levied on Amba because he was known to be a rich man. One lac and fifteen thousand rupees were received from him. This amount I ordered to be spent upon artillery and for charitable purposes."

From the above it is clear that long before the rebellion of Khusro, Jahangir had been incensed against Guru Arjan on account of his *increasing religious influence* amongst the Hindus and the *Muslims.* And, therefore, he was "*for years*" thinking of either putting an end to his religious preachings, which he contemptuously calls "false traffic", or making a Mussulman of him. No report was made to the Emperor of the visit of Khusro to Guru Arjan on the spot at Goindwal, when the Emperor crossed the River Beas at its ferry, nor did anything on the subject "come to his ears" for about a month during which period Khusro had been arrested and made prisoner and a large number of his followers had been impaled, and both of his accomplices Hassan Beg and Abdul Rahim had been inclosed and sewed up in the raw hides of a cow and a donkey. It was only *on the eve of the Emperor's departure* from Lahore that the report regarding the alleged complicity of the Guru in the rebellion was made to the Emperor. This throws a doubt on the truth of the report. If Khusro had actually met the Guru, it would certainly have been reported to the Emperor on the spot at Goindwal or in its neighbourhood where it could also have been easily verified and the Guru would have been carried a prisoner to Lahore with him.

The author of the *Mahma Parkash* tells us that the guru was then at Tarn Taran, and not at Goindwal. Khusro could not have, therefore, met him. No wonder that the whole story might have been an imaginary concoction of the Guru's Hindu and Muslim traducers with a view to entangling him in the rebellion, which had brought such severe punishments on Khusro and his accomplices. Jahangir, apparently, found in this concocted report a long-looked-for opportunity for putting an end to the "false traffic," i.e., the religious activities, of Guru Arjan, and, without any investigation, whatever he ordered him to be tortured to death.

Jahangir makes no mention of any fine imposed on the Guru. He only mentions the death sentence passed against him. Apparently the fine of two lacs of rupees demanded from Amba, and stated in the next sentence quoted above, gave currency to this wrongful statement amongst the people who were Mohsin's sources of information, or the non-payment of the so-called fine on the part of the Guru might have been advertised by his traducers to explain away the cause of his death.

27. The exact date of the Guru's death is:
Safar 2, 1015 *al-Hijri*
Jeth (Jesht) Sudi 4, 1663 Bk.
Harh (Asharh) 2, 1663 Bk.
May 30, 1606 A.D.

In short, after Arjan Mal, his brother Prithia, whom the latter's followers call Guru Meharban, occupied the spiritual office.[28] Now that is one thousand and fifty five al-Hijri (A.D. 1645), Guru Harji is his successor. Pirthia and his successors hold themselves to be *Bhagats*, that is, the worshippers of God. And the disciples of Guru Hargobind, son of Arjan Mal, name them (Pirthia and his successors and followers) *Mina*[29] (the detestable) and this name among them is contemptuous.

After Arjan Mal Hargobind claimed the succession and sat in place of his father, and, being (once) attached to, was not separated from Jehangir.[30] Many hardships confronted him. One of them is this that he adopted the form of soliders, girded sword against (the practice of) his father, kept servants and took to hunting. The late Emperor (Jehangir) sent Hargobind to the fort of Gwalior on account of the balance of the dues of fine that he had imposed on Arjan Mal. He remained for twelve years[31] in that place, where they did not allow that he might eat salty food. During this time the Masands and the Sikhs used to go and bow down to the wall of the fort. At last the late Emperor, by way of kindness, gave freedom to the Guru.

After the death of the late Emperor (Jehangir), he (Hargobind) was devoted to His Majesty, Chief of the Believers, Lord of the Victorious, Shahab-ud-din Muhammad Shah Jehan, Lord of Conjunction the Second. When he returned to his country, which is in the vicinity of the Punjab, he rendered creditable service and

28. Prithia (Prithi Chand) was never acknowledged to be the Guru of the Sikhs. He was the eldest son of Guru Ramdas and used to manage the household affairs and the Guru's kitchen during his life time. But, as he was found unworthy of the holy office, Arjan was given preference and installed as Guru. On the death of Guru Ramdas, Prithia urged his claim to Guruship as his pregenitory right and confiscated everything of the house and the kitchen that he was in possession of; but all his efforts at supplanting his younger brother failed. His second attempt for Guruship after the martyrdom of Guru Arjan in 1606 also met with failure and the small abbey that he had managed to establish with the official support soon dwindled into insignificance.

29. This word *mina* was used for Prithia by Guru Ram Das himself.

30. This refers to the friendship that developed between Emperor Jahangir and Guru Hargobind after the latter's release from the fort of Gwalior. Whether this friendship was the result of the Emperor's repentence for the unjust orders issued for the capital punishment of Guru Arjan, or was actuated by some political motives, is not known to history.

31. The Guru seems to have remained in Gwalior fort for a much shorter period. The exact period has not been determined as yet.

afforded help to Yar Khan, the Eunich, who was Faujdar in the neighbourhood of the Punjab. He returned to Ramdaspura[32] in which place Guru Ramdas and Guru Arjan Mal have constructed lofty buildings and a fine tank.

He (Guru Hargobind) had a fight with the armies of Imperial agents and the servants of Shah Jehan who had gone against him by the commands of His Majesty, the Shadow of God. The baggage and property of the Guru was plundered.[33] From that place he hastened to Kartarpur. There also a battle took place. In that battle Mir Badehra, and Painda Khan son of Fateh Khan Kunaid, were killed. Before and after that occasion large armies rushed at him, but, with the help of God, he escaped unhurt, though he left (had to leave) whatever he had.

I have heard from a person named Sādh that during the battle a person struck a sword upon the Guru. Warding off (the blow), the Guru said to the swordsman, "They do not strike like that. Striking is like this." And with that blow he did away with his foe. One of the companions of the Guru enquired of the chronicler, "What is the philosophy that the Guru at the time of striking the blow said: "see, in this way a wound is inflicted," I said: "It comes to my mind that the sword-striking of the Guru was also by way of teaching, for they call the teacher a *Guru* (or that *Guru* means a teacher), and not by way of anger because it is a condemned thing."

In short, after the battle of Kartarpur he went to Phagwara. As his residence in places near Lahore was difficult, he hastened from there to Kiratpur, which is in the hills of the Punjab. That land belonged to Rajah Tara Chand who did not walk on the path of submission and service to Emperor Shah Jehan.

The people of that place worship idols. On the summit of a mountain, they have raised an idol to the goddess named Naina Devi. The rajahs (petty rulers of the hill states) used to go to that place and performed the rites of pilgrimage. When the Guru came to that place, one of his Sikhs, Bhairo by name, went to the temple

32. The present city of Amritsar was originally called Ramdaspura or Chak Guru.

33. This refers to the first battle fought by Guru Hargobind with the imperialists near, and, perhaps, on the site of the Khalsa College, Amritsar. When the land of the College was at first reclaimed and levelled, heaps of skeletons and skulls were recovered.

of the idol and broke the nose of the Devi (goddess). The rajahs having received the news complained to the Guru and named him [Bhairo]. The Guru sent for Bhairo. Bhairo denied. The attendants of the rajahs said: "We recognize him." He replied: "Oh Rajahs, ask the goddess, if she name me, you (may) kill me." The rajahs said: "Oh fool, how can the goddess speak?" Bhairo answered smilingly: "It is clear who the fool is. When she cannot prevent the breaking of her own head and cannot identify her own injurer, what good can you expect from her and (why) do you worship her as divine?" The rajahs remained tongue-tied. Now most of the people of that land are disciples of the Guru.

In those mountains upto the frontier of the territories of Tibet and Cathay, there is no trace of Muhammadanism. The chronicler has heard it form the tongue of Guru Hargobind: "In the northern hills there is a rajah of great dignity. Once he sent an ambassador to me and enquired, 'I have heard there is a city named Delhi. What is the name of its rajah? Of which rajah's son he is?" I am astonished that he does not know the name of the Chief of the Believers and Lord of Conjunction the Second (Emperor Shah Jehan).

The Guru had seven hundred horses in his stables. And three hundred cavaliers and sixty artillerymen were always in his service. Of these a number lived by trade, service and (other) occupations. Every one who absconded from any place sought his (Guru's) protection.

The Guru was a monotheist and a unitarian. A person enquired from him about the reality of the existence of the world, and the state of Existence and Being. He replied: "The world is a baseless manifestation and a bodiless appearance. Its reality is God Most High. These bodies [forms] and angels are a mere fancy. And we narrate to you an ancient story.

There was a king who went to hunt *Hatjori* which is called *Qamargha* in Turkish and *Barrah-i-Shikār* (lamb of the chase) in Persian. A deer had come into the enclosure of the army (of hunters]. The king said: "[The person] from whose side this deer escapes should not return till he catches it." It so happened that it escaped from before the king. The king pursued it till he fell far (got away) from the army. He arrived at a place where there was no place to go (ahead) on account of the thick growth of trees. The king was pleased that the deer would return. When he reached near it, there was an opening and the deer, having flung itself in it, passed through. The king also caused his horse to jump. The

horse having huddled itself together passed through it. The king was enclosed (caught up) between two branches and his hands and feet became fastened in such a manner as if some body had intentionally tucked him there. For two days he was in that place till two persons, a man and a woman, who were collecting twigs, arrived near him. The woman said to her husband, "Do you see the king has hanged a thief." The man said, "This is not a place for (hanging) a thief. (We) should find out the truth." When they went forward and saw and recognised (him), they said to each other, "Should we release him from this place, he comes to our use (He will be of help to us)." The woman said, " He is king and when he separates from us, who will convey us to him ? If he forms relationship with us and accepts our daughter as a wife, we (shall) release him." They proposed it to the king, and the king accepted it. So they took him out of that place, and taking him home they gave him the daughter. He remained for sometime in that place. Afterwards they conveyed him to the army. When he wanted to go into the house, the gate-keeper struck him with a weapon. The king shuddered and awoke. He saw that he was seated on his throne and orderlies were standing in service.. By this dream, he woke up from the dream of (spiritual) heedlessness: he realised that the visible world is a baseless appearance, and that whatever a person, while awake, thinks (to be real) is also a dream (allusion). And he found that the difference of forms and separateness of bodies is life. In reality this creation is the only one *Sat* (Essence, Spirit) qualified by numerous attributes.

A person from the Brahmans, named Deva, who holds himself to be *Giani*,[34] came to the Guru. One day he sat down on the *Plang* or bedstead of Gurditta, known as Babajio, son of the Guru. People said, "Don't sit (on this bedstead)." He asked the reason of it. They replied, "This is the seat of the Guru." Deva[35] said, "But is not the body of the Guru made of the (same) elements or have I not the rational soul? Is it not in my power to eat whatever he (eats and) drinks?" These words reached Guru Hargobind. He called him and said, "Oh Deva, the whole world is one existence, [is it not?] He replied: "Yes." The Guru pointed to an ass (and said), What is he? Do you recognize him?" Deva replied, "You are absolutely true. This too is yourself." The Guru laughed and was not offended at all. Deva wished to marry his own sister.

34. A person learned in theology.

35. In the text of the lithographed copy 'Deva' is wrongly transcribed as 'waira.'

People said, "It is unlawful." He replied, "If it were forbidden, man and woman could not have sexually met. Because God did not want us to fly in the air, He did not give us the power of flying."[36]

The Sikhs worship Guru Hargobind as divine. Their belief is that he is God, having manifested himself six times (from Guru Nanak to himself) in this cycle.

Parrah Kaivan Yazdani, having heard the Guru's virtues came to see him. Having recognized him, the Guru showed him due respect. Consequently Parrah Kaivan went away.

A week had not yet elapsed since the departure of Parrah Kaivan, when on Sunday the third of Muharram, 1055 Hijri,[37] the Guru undertook the last journey. Placing his body on firewood when they set fire and the flames rose high, a Rajpoot named Rajaram, who was his servant, flung himself into the fire. He walked a few paces on the fire till he conveyed himself to the feet of the Guru.

36. Umrao Singh writes:—

".....Deva was evidently a vigorous type of neo Vedanti sophist which somewhat after the manner of Walt Whitman wants to override all ethical considerations which have made the evolution of the human species possible. Deva was not aware of the biological reasons which have made incest unlawful—namely the reason for marriage between distant blood, and the half-vedantis and gyanis, harping only on the idea of freedom from all restraint, including moral ones, for the free soul have fallen into this error, which has been avoided by all true guides of mankind. The Sikh Gurus, like other guides of humanity, have deprecated every laxity of morals.

Some people would wish to eliminate the incident of the dialogue between Deva and Guru Hargobind, so as to eliminate the chance of anybody among the acquaintances of the Guru having been impudent towards him. To our mind it is an example of the tolerance of a great personality like the Guru Hargobind towards half-wise half-foolish men, and his self-control over personal indignation, as much as an appreciation of the ready humour of the remark. It is the little minds who get upset by such things and are vindicative....." (*The Khalsa Review*, p. 15-16).

37. The year should be one thousand and fifty four, and not fifty-five as given in the text. 1055 A.H., being the year current when Mohsin was writing his book, has been inadvertantly written by a slip of the pen. This has been corrected by the author himself when he gives 1055 as the date of Guru Har Rai's departure for Thapul after a year of his residence at Kiratpur from the time of his installation as Guru after the death of Guru Hargobind. 1054 al-Hijri agrees with the date of Guru Hargobind's death according to the Sikh chronologies.

He placed his face on the soles of his (Guru's) feet and did not not move till he gave his life. After him the son of a Jat, who served the Guru's son-in-law, jumped into the fire. After that a large number (of people) wanted to jump in. Guru Har Rai forbade it. Says Daulat Khan Qaqsal:—

Quatrain.

From a hundred sayings of my spiritual teacher, I remember one word:

The world becomes not waste as long as the tavern is in existence [distributing the wine of God's love],

As long as one can give life, so that he can take away heart:

To give life and to take away heart, these two are God-given.

Guru Hargobind in his letters to the chronicler remembered [himself] by the title of Nanak[38] who is the spiritual head of this sect. He (chronicler) saw him at Kiratpur[39] in the year one thousand and fifty-three Hijiri.

Guru Har Rai is the grandson of Guru Hargobind. His father Gurditta, known as Babajio, at first desired Guru Hargobind that he might pass on the rein of successorship into his (Gurditta's) control. [At this time]Gurditta Ghora, a Sikh, brought his daughter for [marriage with] Babajio. Baba[jio] wanted to send her to his special herem when the mother of Har Rai, who, on account of the carelessness with which Babajio treated her, wanted that woman [to be given] to some other man, came to Guru Hargobind and complained. Having heard her, Guru Hargobind said to Babajio: "I regard Naghora (Gurditta Ghora?) as a son of mine. His daughter, cannot be married to my son." Naghora (Gurditta Ghora?) did not agree to taking away his daughter and returning of the Sedan-Chair (litter). On account of his humble requests, Babajio did not reject his wish. Guru Hargobind said: "May this matrimonial

38. Translated as the sentences is found in the lithographed text, it would be: "Guru Hargobind in (his) letters remembered the chronicler by the title of Nanak." But this is inconsistent with the practice of the Gurus. It was the Guru who assumed for himself the title of 'Nanak' when he succeeded to the spiritual office, and not that he remembered his friends and followers by it. The mistake in the text is apparently due to the omission of خود or some such word after نامہ نگار

39. In S. Umrao Singh's translation, it has been transliterated as 'Kartarpur.' This, I presume, is due to the printers' carelessness. 'Kiratpur' is quite clear in the text.

connection and its fulfilment never take place." In those very days Babajio passed away with the bridegroom's robes on. The daughter of Gurditta Ghora returned home a virgin.

So, therefore, the great Guru favoured Har Rai, the eldest son of Babajio, with an eye of kindness and addressed him as Babajio. At the time of his death, he (Guru Hargobind) installed him (Har Rai) on his own seat (of Guruship), put the robe of successorship on his body and ordered (his) progeny and all his family-members to obey him.

Har Rai remained at Kiratpur for one year. In the year one thousand and fity five (hijri), when Najabat Khan son of Shah Rukh Mirza, having mobilized an army, under the orders of Shah Jehan, invaded the territories of Tara Chand and made the Raja a prisoner, Guru Har Rai went to Thapul in the territories of Rajah Karam Prakash near Sirhind.

The Sikhs call Har Rai the Seventh Mahal. He is very well known to the chronicler.

Having acquainted himself, the author now writes about some of the famous Masands and divine Ramdasis, and presents some of the characteristics [customs and manners] of this sect. They call their successors Ramdas also. The late Emperor Jehangir and Emperor Shah Jehan called the Guru, Ramdas, that is the God of the idolatorous Ramdasis.

Jhanda is one of the propagandists of the Guru. He is a wealthy man. He does not talk to any one and has nothing to do with the good and bad of any one. One day his foot had a wound. Hargobind said, "You don't wear shoes." On hearing this, he immediately put off his shoes and went about with naked feet for three months. When the Guru came to know of it, he said: "Put on [your shoes], I had told you [to put off your shoes] for the healing of the wound."

Some days afterwards Guru said: "Tell the Sikhs that they may bring firewood for the kitchen that it may be *sawāb* (virtuous) to them." Jhanda disappeared the second day, in spite of the fact that on other days he did not get up from sleep upto mid-day. As people thought of the madness of his brain, they thought that he had gone out. The Guru and people searched for him and saw that he was coming with a bundle of firewood on his shoulder. The Guru said: "I did not tell you [to bring firewood]." He replied: "You ordered the Sikhs. I am a Sikh, and I know of no higher dignity."

Once the Guru went inside a garden. He said to Jhanda, "You remain at the gate." By chance the Guru, going out by another door, went home. Jhanda stood there for three days till Guru Hargobind, on hearing of it, called him back.

Guru Hargobind had a disciple named Bidhia.[40] He sent a man to bring grain from the place where it was sown. That man gave away the whole of it and said to Bidhia, "You used to distribute it to the needy people. I also did the same at that place. And you are saved from the expenses of transporting it." Bidhia was at first a thief. Now also his followers have inclination for theft. He tries his utmost in the obedience of the Guru. His belief is that whatever they steel for the Guru is praise-worthy, and that there is *Sawāb,* or future reward of virtue, in it.[41] The Sikhs say that Guru Hargobind said, " On the day of retribution will not ask from my disciples [the account of] their deeds.

Sadh is one of the disciples of the Guru. According to the Guru's orders he set out from Balakh to Iraq for bringing horses. He had a grown up son who fell sick. People said: "You are still in the city of Balakh, only one stage distant from home, see your son." He replied: "If he will die, there is plenty of firewood in the house. You may cremate him. I have set my face in the service of the Guru. I shall not return." At last the boy passed away and he [Sadh] did not return.

At last he brought three Iraqi horses. Khalil Beg, a tyrant, took hold of them. This did not bring good luck to him. During that very year his son, who was the cause of it, died and he himself was dishonoured and disgraced.

Sadh is a person who does not become elated by joys and depressed by sorrows. Once the author was a companion with

40. The name بدھیا Bidhia—a contraction of Bidhi Chand—has been erroneously transcribed as بدھتا Bidhta in the lithographed copy and has been transliterated accordingly by Shea and Troyer and S. Umrao Singh in their respective translations.

41. In all probability the author here alludes to Bidhia's carrying off the two horses *Gulbagh* and *Dilbagh* from the fort of Lahore. These two (three?) beautiful Iraqi horses, intended for Guru Hargobind, were forcibly snatched, as Muhsin Fain himself tells us in the account of Sadh, by Khalil Beg of Lahore and sent to the royal stables in the fort. Bidhia volunteered his services to recover the horses. Disguising himself, first as a grass-cutter and then as an astrologer-tracker, he carried away both the horses, one by one, from the fort and brought them to their rightful master.

him from Kabul to the Punjab. The belt or my skin-coat snapped. Sadh instantly took off his Brahmanical thread and put up a patch in that place [that is, patched the belt with it]. I said "Why did you do like this? He replied, "The wearing of the thread is an undertaking of service. When I neglect the service of friends, I become a non-wearer of thread.

Verse

This knotless thread is although a single thread:
In a cloister it is a *tasbi*,[42] in an idol-temple a *zannar*.[43]

A Sikh asked Guru Hargobind: "In the absence of the Guru, how shall I find him." He replied: "Reckon every Sikh, who taking the name [of God or Guru] comes to your house, as Guru."

It is a practice amongst the Sikhs that whatever wish they have, they present whatever they can as an offering before a *Masand*, or a Sikh, in an assembly of the Sikhs and request that they [the assembly of the Sikhs] should join their hands [in prayers] towards the Guru and pray that his wish be fulfilled. The Guru, too, requests his wishes to be fulfilled in the same manner from the *Sangat* that is an assembly of the Sikhs. This custom is also prevalent among the Sipasians, that is, the Yezdanis. The belief of this sect is that when a large number of people fix their attention on the fulfillment of a certain thing, it surely comes to be, because it has the fullest effect.

Among the Sikhs there is nothing of the austerities and worship according to the religious laws of the Hindus. In eating and drinking they have no restrictions [like the Hindus]. When Partabmal Giani saw a Hindu boy who had a mind to embrace Islam, he said: "Why do you become a Muhammadan? If you have an inclination to eat every thing, you may become a Sikh of the Guru and eat whatever you like."

The belief of the Sikhs is that the disciples of the Guru all go to heaven. Whoever takes the name of the Guru and comes into the house of a Sikh, they do not prohibit him. They say, a thief, taking the name of the Guru, came into the house of a Sikh. The Sikh served him according to their custom. In the morning the Sikh went out so that he might bring some thing better [to cook] for him. The thief found the wife of the Sikh with many jewels. Having at once killed her, and taking away the jewels, he stepped out [went out of the house]. In the way he met the master of the house. The Sikh took him back by force [compelled the thief

42. Rosary of the Muhammadans.
43. The Brahmanical thread of the Hindus.

to return to the house with him]. When they came to the house they found the wife killed. The thief thought that the Sikh had found it out, and therefore told him the truth. The Sikh replied, "You have done well [that is, what has happened in His Will]." He closed the door of the room. He said to the neighbours: "My wife is ill." He cooked the food, ate himself and gave to the thief, and said: "Come out [that is, you may go away now]." He did not take the jewels from him and presented them to him. And he cremated his wife.

Similarly they say that a Qalandar was staying in the house of a Sikh. One day the Qalandar said to the wife of the Sikh: "For the sake of the Guru, satisfy my desire." The woman said: "Remain contented [in the Will of God]. I am the property of another." Out of fear, the Qalandar did not come to the house of the Sikh again. The Sikh enquired: "Why does not the Darvesh come?" The wife told him of the Darvesh's request. The Sikh said: "Why did you refuse his request." The woman went out and bringing the Qalandar by request, united with him. In the month of Baisakh when they went to the Guru,—and that Guru was Hargobind—the Guru wrathfully looked at the Qalandar and said: "I have smitten him." The Qalandar became a leper.[44]

Similarly they say that one of the Gurus, on seeing a speaking parrot, praised it. A Sikh heard it. Going to the master of the parrot, who was a soldier, he asked for the parrot. The soldier said: "If you give your daughter [to me], I will give the parrot to you." The Sikh accepted it. Again he [soldier] laughed and said: "If you give your wife [to me], the parrot becomes yours." The Sikh accepted it. He took the soldier home and made over his wife and daughter to him. When the soldier came home and told the secret to his wife, the wife rebuked him so that, having given the parrot to him (Sikh), he made over the wife and daughter (also) to him. Full of joy, the Sikh went to the Guru.

To conclude, these things happened before Guru Hargobind. And these are the famous Sikhs of this sect [of the *Nanak-Panthis*] that are recounted.

44. This story of the Qalandar and the Sikh woman and also the next, may throw no aspersion on Sikh morality. Rather, it shows how simple the mind of a Sikh is, and that, in his overflowing devotion to the Guru, he is prepared to lay down his every thing when appealed to in the name of the Guru.

This story is not to be found anywhere in Sikh histories or legends, and it is not improbable that it may be an invention of some fertile brain to depict the simple-mindedness of the Sikhs or to ridicule their whole-hearted devotion to the Guru.